

THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

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VOL. I.

TERMS.

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POLITICAL.

(From Saturday's Globe.)

DECISIVE PROOF OF HARRISON'S TAMPERING WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The Boston Post of the 24th inst. contains a very able and conclusive article, showing that Mr. Calhoun's letter communicating the substance of Gen. Harrison's letter, through a friend, to the Abolitionists of Massachusetts, was intended to bring him within the condition of the resolution of the society of his district, and qualify him to receive Abolition votes, according to the terms expressed in it. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That no Abolitionist can give his vote for either of these men [Van Buren or Harrison] for the office of President of the U. S., without good evidence of a fundamental change in their former views and practices on the subject."

Mr. Calhoun expressly alludes to this decision against Harrison on the part of his Abolition friends, and then undertakes to satisfy them by the account he gives of Gen. Harrison's letter to Evans, that he had seen in it "good evidence" to induce a reconsideration of their resolve. He tells them that he has seen a letter from the General, which renders the doings of the Anti-slavery Convention at Springfield—their resolution denouncing Gen. Harrison—in his opinion quite premature.

When the Massachusetts convention of Abolitionists met to nominate a Presidential electoral ticket, the question arose whether the indications thrown out by Harrison to catch Southern votes, should prevent the convention from directing its efforts to his advancement. The Boston Post gives the following account of the convention, and its debate on this point:

"The convention was called by the political Abolitionists of this State, for the express purpose of nominating an Abolition electoral ticket. It was presided over by the Hon. Wm. Jackson, an ardent Whig, and recently a member of Congress from District No. 9.—The question under discussion was the Abolitionism of Gen. Harrison. A portion of the members of the convention were for a separate organization, and another portion desired to bring the Abolition force to the support of Gen. Harrison. On this point the discussion mainly turned.

Sketch of Debate in the Abolition Convention.

A member of the Convention, Mr. Spalding, it was understood, a lawyer, said that he was a Whig Abolitionist, and was opposed to any course being taken by the Convention that would endanger the election of Gen. Harrison. A nomination of a distinct Abolition ticket of electors, pledged to Mr. Birney, he said, would injure the Whig cause, because the Abolitionists were generally Whigs, and such a ticket would draw more from Harrison's votes than from Van Buren's. He believed, and as far as he understood the views of the Abolitionists generally, they believed, that there was a choice of evils between Harrison and Van Buren, and that Harrison was better for them than Van Buren, because the Whig party was the friend of Abolitionism, and the Democratic party opposed it. The Whigs in Congress who supported Harrison, had generally voted against the gag law, while the Democrats had carried it by their votes. This, he said, would determine his course. We say, continued Mr. S., that there is a choice for Abolitionists, between the two candidates of the great parties, and why, then, when it was certain that Mr. Birney could not be elected, should the Abolitionists, by a separate nomination, draw votes from Harrison, by taking the large proportion of Abolitionists in the Whig party, and thus strengthen Mr. Van Buren? The votes for Mr. Birney must come from the Whigs, if at all, and this would defeat the Whigs. This, as a friend to Abolition, he could not consent to.

Mr. E. Wright, jr., replied that Harrison was certain of the Electoral vote of Massachusetts, if the Abolitionists went for Mr. Birney. The parties in Massachusetts were so nearly divided, that the Abolitionists could prevent a choice of Electors, because it required a majority. It would then go to the Legislature. That would be Whig, and could elect the Harrison Electors; and he did not despair, that in that event, the Abolition Electors might be chosen. He repelled an intimation that a separate nomination would aid Van Buren.—

None but an insane man, he said, would suppose that the Van Buren men have set us on.

Mr. Leavitt of New York (editor of the Emancipator,) who had previously spoken with decided condemnation of Mr. Van Buren, as pledged utterly against Abolition in all its forms, said that he was open and plain in his course, while Harrison was aiming secretly to gain the slave States, by servility to the South and the Northern Abolitionists by confidential professions. It was now well known that letters from Harrison, with injunctions of secrecy, had been privately circulated at the South ever since Harrison was a candidate in 1836, pledging him to the slaveholders. John M. Berrien of Georgia had a private letter from Harrison in 1836, on the slave side, a Mr. — [I lost the name] of Louisiana or Alabama, had another of these secret pledges to the South. Mr. Rives, or some friend of his, had another. These letters were concealed until after the Harrisburg Convention, where, by another process, the votes of Abolitionists in that body were secured for the nomination of Harrison; and as soon as that was done and the nomination acceded to by Abolitionists at the North, we then find the Whig slaveholders in Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, &c., rallying to the support of Harrison, on the ground that he was more to be relied on for slavery than Van Buren. He believed that more recently other secret pledges, by private letters from General Harrison or his friends, had been, or would be, circulated among Southern Whig slaveholders, which would probably come to light, and upon which it was relied to rally the South for his support. Mr. Rives, or some friend of his, had undoubtedly got such a letter. This, and this only, could account for the recent rally of the Whig party at the South, upon Harrison. The South, he believed, would eventually, and that soon, change its position from the Jeffersonian doctrines, as they were called, of 1798, and go for a high tariff and a National Bank, with a view to strengthen the slave power; and therefore he did not rely upon their past opposition to these measures to induce them to oppose Harrison now, if they could depend on his pledges to their paramount principle, slavery, by which they could plunder the North.— But they must be sure of that, and this accounted for Harrison's opposite course at the North and South.

This was one side of the picture. He meant to be impartial, for he regarded neither party, and looked upon both as the enemy of Abolition. While these secret pledges to slavery were circulating at the South, the opposite opinions were confidently ascribed to Harrison at the North, to secure the Abolitionists. This double process of concealment had been carried on with considerable success by Harrison himself. He (Mr. Leavitt) knew the fact that Harrison, since his recent nomination, and before, had gained much of their favor and confidence in his personal intercourse with the Abolitionists of Cincinnati. He had visited the anti-slavery rooms there, and had led many true-hearted Abolitionists to believe he was with them in the great work of emancipation. Charles Hammond, and even Mr. Birney himself had been deceived by this course, and had had a bandage put over their eyes.— Delegates to the American Anti-Slavery Convention had pledged themselves to that convention, that Harrison was fully committed to anti-slavery. Mr. Gates of New York (a Whig Abolition member of Congress) had written a letter, which he (Mr. Leavitt) had seen, affirming, from facts within his knowledge, that Harrison had changed his opinions on Abolition since his speech at Vincennes, and his Cheviot oration, which is quoted by Mr. Rives in his letter to the Virginians, to prove Harrison's pro-slavery.

Mr. L. said this was not the first time that Harrison had courted the Abolitionists. After his vote in Congress for the admission of Missouri in 1822, he went home, and to conciliate the Abolitionists, whose influence then was sufficient to defeat his election, he wrote a letter, in which he made it a merit with them that at the age of eighteen he was an Abolitionist, and a member of an Abolition society. This is now used to make him an Abolitionist at the North, while at the South it is explained by the slaveholders, in private letters from Harrison's friends, if not from himself, that it meant only the abolition of the slave trade.

Such was the course of General Harrison, to carry the South and the North. Van Buren relied on party machinery to carry the North, and a subservience to slavery to secure the South. But he at least had no concealment of his opinions. Van Buren stood on but one side of this question. Abolitionists knew him as

an open opponent; but Harrison was trying to stand on both stands. He had descended to a lower deep. He (Mr. L.) could vote for neither. Both were unworthy the votes of freemen; but he preferred an open enemy to a false friend.

Rev. Abel Brown, a delegate from Northampton, (Mr. Wm. B. Calhoun's district,) said that he knew something of the course pursued to induce the Abolitionists to support Gen. Harrison in preference to any other candidate. Secret letters were circulated not only at the South but at the North. This fact he knew. A convention was held of the Abolitionists of Hampshire and Hampden counties, in Mr. Calhoun's district, the latter part of January last, in which strong resolutions were passed against supporting either Harrison or Van Buren. After that convention, Mr. W. B. Calhoun had written home letters from Washington to convince the Abolitionists that they were wrong in opposing Harrison. Copies were privately handed round among the Abolitionists by the Whigs, and he (Mr. Brown) had seen some of them, in which Mr. Calhoun stated that General Harrison was with us (the Abolitionists) and would go all lengths, and that he (Mr. Calhoun) had this from authority which was understood to mean General Harrison himself. But at the end of the letter was this remark: "Make such use of this as you think best, but do not let it get into the papers!" This was sent by a member of Congress, to induce us to believe that Harrison was an Abolitionist, and ought to receive our support. But it must not get into the papers. Oh, no! That would hurt Harrison with the slaveholders! It was wrong to deceive us, if it was not so. I have also understood, said Mr. Brown, that there was another letter in circulation, from a great man in Ohio, who certified that he knew General Harrison was an Abolitionist; but I could never see it. It was to be kept from the press. Sir, liberty has nothing to gain by the election of Martin Van Buren, so far as the slave is concerned; but he is open and manly in his course. But this course of General Harrison is too mean to be thought of.

REMARKS.—A perusal of this sketch shows the present posture of the Abolitionists in regard to the Presidential election. All unite in denouncing Mr. Van Buren as wholly unfit for their purposes. A portion prefer Mr. Birney, one of the founders of their society, and at present a delegate in London at the World's Convention of Abolitionists. But the greater part prefer Harrison to Birney as more available, and as having given secret pledges, which are considered "good evidence of a fundamental change" in his former views" of the subject, viz: those contained in his Vincennes and Cheviot speeches, his letters to Mr. Berrien and Sloo, and other private letters to his friends in the South. The sketch of the debate furnishes the positive proof of the Rev. Abel Brown, whom the Post characterizes as a "respectable Baptist Clergyman, of unimpeachable veracity," that Mr. Calhoun's letter was used to satisfy the society in his district, that there was "good evidence of a fundamental change" in Harrison's former views, which will justify them in supporting him according to the terms of their resolution. Mr. Leavitt, of New York, (the Abolition Editor of the Emancipator, who preferred Birney, because he believed Harrison to be acting a double part,) gives the most distinct evidence of the existence of another secret missive for Harrison, which is going the rounds privately among the Abolitionists of New York.

Mr. Leavitt says: "Mr. Gates of New York had written a letter, which he (Mr. Leavitt) had seen, affirming, from facts within his own knowledge, that Harrison had changed his opinions on Abolition since his speech at Vincennes, and his Cheviot oration, which is quoted by Mr. Rives, in his letter to the Virginians, to prove Harrison's pro-slavery."

Mr. Gates is one of the most avowed Abolitionists in Congress. He is the only man of the joint Federal and Abolition party in the House of Representatives who would venture to contradict the disparaging remarks of Waddy Thompson in regard to the Abolitionists.

While Slade and Adams, and all the rest, sat mute, and, for party purposes, permitted Mr. Thompson's idea to go abroad, undenied, that the Abolitionists had really no sincere friends to their cause in the House, Mr. Gates stood their solitary champion. And now he is Harrison's champion among the Abolitionists. He tells them that "Harrison has changed his opinions on Abolition since his speech at Vincennes and his Cheviot oration." Now we call on Mr. Gates to say whether he has written any such letter as that described by

his brother Abolitionist, Mr. Leavitt. If he does not deny Mr. Leavitt's statement, it must be taken as true. If he does not deny it, the inference is irresistible that he dares not deny it. Mr. Gates is known to be in favor of the election of General Harrison. He sees that General Harrison has written a letter to the Kentucky Whig committee, in which he refers to the Vincennes or Cheviot speech, republished by Messrs. Todd and Drake, and declares that he could not be an honest man and allow the publication to go out with his sanction, if he had changed his opinion. If Mr. Gates, then, being a friend to Harrison, could deny that he had written a letter to make the impression that Harrison had changed his opinion, he would, for public, if not for private considerations, deny it. While the uncontradicted testimony of an unimpeached witness gives assurance that Mr. Gates "has facts within his own knowledge," proving that Harrison "had changed his opinions," and while Harrison himself assures the public, that, if this be true, he cannot, under present circumstances, be considered an honest man, what must the public infer in regard to Mr. Gates's motives, if he stands mute? Is he willing to let the strong suspicion rest upon the public mind that Harrison is, through him and other Abolitionists, seeking to impress the belief in one section of the country that he has changed his opinion, and is favorable to Abolition, while, through the Kentucky Committee, he cautiously endeavors to make a different impression in another quarter? In other words, is he willing that the suspicion shall rest on the public mind, that the man whom he supports for the Presidency is not an honest man, but a hypocrite? If Mr. Gates has written nothing to persuade the Abolitionists that Harrison inclines to their cause, by a frank and candid statement of the whole truth, he may exonerate himself and Harrison from the inference which must otherwise exist, that there has been a conspiracy between them to practice deception upon the North and South, in regard to his real attitude on the Abolition question. Mr. Gates will not, we trust, be less ingenuous than Mr. Calhoun, of Massachusetts. We hope he will be more so, and without hesitation give to the public eye whatever he may have written to influence the popular vote in his district on a subject, in regard to which, it seems Harrison has authorized his friends in the West to make a publication for the avowed purpose of operating on the election in that section. If the modes of operation are consistent, it will redound to the credit of the parties concerned.—If they are not, is it honest in Mr. Gates to aid Harrison in carrying on a clandestine system of electioneering in the North, and to keep this inconsistency from the knowledge of the people? Is it a part of the understanding with Abolitionists that the pledges to them are to be held in secrecy, while the Southern supporters of Harrison are to have the privilege of making an open display of their private correspondence with Harrison, and of the declarations they extort from him? Are Evans, Gates, Calhoun, and other Abolition Representatives, to stand mute, while Lyons, Berrien, the Kentucky Committee, and others of the Southern side of Whiggery, talk out?

CASE OF LIEUTENANT HOOE.

WASHINGTON, June 22.—Mr. Botts having thought proper to pursue a course in relation to the question involved in the trial of this officer, directly opposed to "which a man of sense, actuated by a sincere desire to remedy a supposed grievance, would have chosen, we now in pursuance of the intimation in the Globe of yesterday, proceed to state the case of Lieutenant Hooe, as briefly as possible.

Lieutenant Hooe was tried on three charges, to wit: "Treating with contempt his superior officer in the execution of his duty;" "uttering mutinous and seditious words;" and for "disobedience of orders"—which last involved the additional charge of cruelty:

First. In directing John Dennis, a seaman on board the Vandalia, to be flogged with eighteen lashes, contrary to the internal regulations of the ship, and in direct violation of the third article of the act for the better government of the navy.

Secondly. Inflicting on Calvin Morgan, a boy between twelve and thirteen years of age, in a cruel and scandalous manner, on his bare skin, between fifty and sixty lashes, with four parts of a three yarn nettle; and at another time, eighty-seven or more lashes, in like manner.

Thirdly. Flogging Daniel Waters, the Commander's cook.

Fourthly. Directing Wm. O'Brien, marine, to receive twelve lashes.

All these, contrary to the internal regulations of the ship, and all, with the exception of the latter, in direct violation of the third article of the act for the better government of the navy.

On these charges, Lieut. Hooe was fully convicted, with the qualification that the beating of Calvin Morgan was not "in a cruel and scandalous manner," and for these and other offences fully proved by testimony to which he offered no objection, and by his own confession, he was sentenced to be dismissed the West India

squadron, and to be reprimanded by the Secretary of the Navy.

In the course of the trial, Lieutenant Hooe objected to the examination of two free black witnesses, regularly entered, and doing duty on board the Vandalia, then lying at anchor in Pensacola Bay, which objection was overruled by the court, a majority of which consisted of Southern officers. The Secretary of the Navy, on receiving the proceedings, referred the case to the District Attorney, the Attorney-General being absent, who decided that all the speculations on which Lieutenant Hooe had been convicted, were fully proved without the testimony to which he objected, and that on a great portion of these no testimony whatever had been given by the objectionable witnesses. The Secretary of the Navy accordingly confirmed the decision of the court, and it was carried into effect.

Subsequently Lieut. Hooe memorialized the President, on the ground that improper testimony had been received at his trial; and the President, after reviewing the case, decided not to reverse the decision, on the sole ground that the case was fully made out, and the proofs complete, without the objectionable testimony. The question as to the legality of the testimony of these witnesses, did not come up—it was not necessary to the decision. This was the opinion of the Attorney-General. After long delay, and near the close of the session, Mr. Botts has brought the subject before Congress in a series of resolutions, not of inquiry, but condemnation, and with the object, which has been fully attained, of disseminating them through the Southern States for political purposes, either before they were presented, or after they had been rejected by the House.

Having previously remarked on the course he has pursued, in terms which every candid and honorable man will acknowledge to be just, we shall leave him to the judgment of the intelligent people of an illustrious Commonwealth, and the constituents he represents. We will only ask any humane and high-minded citizen of the South, whether the President would not have been amply justified in dismissing Lieutenant Hooe from service for the illegal and unwarrantable inflictions of punishment on a class of men to whom the country is so deeply indebted for those honors she enjoys in the estimation of the world, and to whom she looks for future accessions—for abusing an usurped authority to the purposes of cruelty and oppression, and bringing upon the high and honorable and humane officers of the American navy, the imputation, of all others, most abhorrent to the genius of our country, and the spirit of its institutions? Does there exist a Virginian—with the exception of Mr. Botts—who would have objected to such a just exercise of authority, or who would not, if the case had been fairly presented, have cried out against the President, had he, by a reversal of the decision of the court martial, proscribed his prerogative to the purpose of giving impunity to petty oppression, under pretence of repudiating testimony which both the District Attorney and the Attorney-General had decided to be immaterial—nay, more, absolutely out of the issue which he was called upon to affirm or reverse?

The President is not the man to pursue such a course. He is the representative of the free and benevolent principles of Democracy, whose end and object is to ameliorate the condition of the poor, the unprotected, and the defenceless. By this chart has he steered, and to this great purpose have all his acts been directed. It is for this he directed the order to be issued that the laborers and mechanics employed under the different departments of Government should not be obliged to labor at any season more than ten hours a day. It was his ardent desire to shield the gallant sailors of the U. S., as far as possible, from the abuse of a privilege sanctioned by the laws, that prompted him to authorize the following general order of the Secretary of the Navy, of which the conduct of Lieut. Hooe was the immediate occasion:

Circular to Commanding Officers of Squadrons.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, 8th March, 1839.

Sir: Complaints having been made to the Department of the infliction of punishment, by order of subordinate officers, upon the men on board our vessels of war, in violation of the law and regulations of the service, the Department deems it proper to call your particular attention to this subject, and to direct that you enforce the said law and regulations in regard to the infliction of punishment as prescribed by section 1st, article 30th, of the act for the better government of the Navy of the U. S., (Book of Laws, page 101,) and in the rules, regulations and instructions for the naval service of the U. States, pages 60 and 61.

I am, sir, very respectfully

J. K. PAULDING.

Lt. Chas. Wilkes, jr., commanding United States Exploring Expedition, Valparaiso.

It was also from the deep and abiding interest felt by the President in the rights and well being of our glorious volunteer seamen, that he was induced to give his direct sanction to another general order, regulating the punishments throughout the entire navy, as far as the law will permit, and placing every obstacle in his

power in the way of the abuse of that law:

NAVAL GENERAL ORDER.

The President of the U. S. believing that greater formality in the infliction of such corporal punishments as are authorized by law, may be adopted in the navy with beneficial consequences, directs, that no such punishment shall be inflicted on any person in the service without sentence of a court martial, when that is required by law, or the written order of the Captain or commanding officer of the vessel, or commandant of the navy yard to which he is attached, where the authority to cause it to be inflicted, rests in the discretion of the commanding officer, specifying the offence or offences, and the extent of the punishment to be inflicted; which order shall be read, and the punishment inflicted in presence of the officers and seamen belonging to the vessel or navy yard.

All such orders for punishment shall be entered on the log book, and a quarterly return made to the Secretary of the Navy, stating the names of the persons punished, their offences and the extent of the punishment inflicted, together with such explanations or remarks as the commanding officer may deem necessary to a proper understanding of the case.

The President also directs that the law authorizing the enlistment of seamen and others for the naval service, as it may be in operation at the time of enlistment, shall be printed on the back of the shipping articles, and read to each person desirous to enter, previous to his signing them, in order that he may know precisely the engagements and obligations he is about to contract.

Navy Department, May 29th, 1840.

To our minds, this is much better than empty profession and hollow sympathy, such as for the present suits the party in opposition to assume for the purpose of deceiving the people. Deeds, not words, are the test of sincerity, and by the former let the President be judged here and hereafter.—Globe.

CASE OF LIEUT. HOOE.—We have thought it would have been unnecessary to trouble the public with any further notice of this case, to which such a factitious importance has been given, but Mr. Botts has again made it proper to refer to the subject.

Among the records and documents called for by the resolution of General McKay, and transmitted to Congress, was a paper of which Mr. Botts attempted to arrest the reading, on the ground that "it was not the record of the trial, but a defence of the Administration."

We have taken the opportunity of inquiring into the history of this paper, which it seems occasioned such a fluttering among the flock of which Mr. Botts is the leader on this occasion, and have received the following explanation from the proper quarter:

The memorial of Lieut. Hooe to the President was, according to invariable custom, referred to the Secretary of the Navy, who reported the facts of the case to the Executive. This is the paper denounced by Mr. Botts as "a defence of the Administration," by which he pays the President the highest possible compliment, since a mere naked narrative of the facts of the case is thus considered by Mr. Botts "a defence of the Administration." Such indeed it proved, if a judgment may be formed from the vehement excitement it produced in that gentleman and his associates, the Whigs and Abolitionists.

We utterly deny the assertion of Mr. Botts that this was not one of the papers called for by the resolution of General McKay. It was a simple summary of the case, without comment or argument, and, as furnishing one of the presumed grounds of the President's decision, was deemed an essential part of the proceedings in relation to this case, all of which were called for by the resolution. As such it was transmitted to Congress. Whether Mr. Botts saw it or not, previous to its transmission, is not deemed of the least consequence, since it is presumed his object in bringing the case before Congress was to elicit all the information, and all the documents connected with the subject.

CASE OF LIEUTENANT HOOE.

Having shown, in our preceding articles under this head, that the question in regard to the competency of certain witnesses objected to by Lieutenant Hooe, did not come up for the decision of the President, we will take this opportunity to offer a few remarks suggested by the occasion.

The employment of free black and other colored sailors in the U. S. navy, is coeval with its existence; and the reasons which induced Congress and the courts to admit the testimony of these colored sailors in trials for offences on ship board, must be obvious to every reflecting mind. Were they debarred from giving their testimony on courts martial, it is easy to predict the consequences, both to the guilty and the innocent, who may be accused of the commission of crime. We have been told by an old and experienced officer of the navy, that in southern latitudes it was his custom to have two boats crews, one composed exclusively of blacks, who were employed on occasions where exposure to the heat and sun would have been dangerous to white men. Suppose that while absent from the ship, engaged in watering, or in any other pursuit, some offence, however aggra-

vated, were committed by an officer in charge of the party, in the presence of no other witnesses than these blacks, and the officer brought to a court martial on board the ship to which he belonged? By excluding the only witnesses to the transaction, the offender would escape, and the crime go unpunished. An infinite number of analogous cases might be presented, all going to show that the only alternative left, is either to exclude free blacks and other colored persons altogether from the service, or to admit their testimony on courts martial, as that of other seamen is received—the law of Congress as it at present stands, making no disqualification of any sailor as a witness, according to all the decisions of the courts.

This is the case which is now brought before the public by Mr. Botts, and this the question to be decided by Congress. It cannot be settled too soon, and we again call on that gentleman promptly to place the subject in the hands of the Judiciary Committee. By so doing, he will take the only proper and direct mode for removing all future doubts on a matter of extreme delicacy and importance, and at the same time release himself from every imputation on the sincerity of his sympathy in behalf of Lieut. Hooe, as well as his solicitude for the sanctity of the local laws of the South. We repeat again, that in adopting this course, he will undoubtedly be sustained by his friends and fellow-laborers, Messrs. Slade, Peck, Hunt, Fillmore, and the rest of the Abolition champions, whose alliance is so cherished by the Whig leaders of the South, and who are equally with himself the devotees of log cabins and hard cider.

We will take this opportunity to state a fact which has come to our knowledge in the course of this discussion. We have been furnished with the copy of a circular issued from the Navy Department, having a direct reference to this subject, which it appears had already attracted the attention of the Secretary of the Navy, who, we understand, had been struck by observing the number of black and mulatto seamen on board our public vessels. The letter is signed by Commodore Chauncey, acting in pursuance of an intimation from the head of the Department, then absent from the seat of Government:

Circular.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
September 13th, 1839.

Sir: Frequent complaints having been made of the number of blacks and other colored persons entered at some of the recruiting stations, and the consequent undue proportion of such persons transferred to sea-going vessels, it is deemed proper to call your attention to the subject, and to request that you will direct the recruiting officer at the station under your command, in future, not to enter a greater proportion of colored persons than five per cent. of the whole number of white persons entered by him, weekly or monthly; and in no instance, nor under any circumstances whatever, to enter a slave.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

I. CHAUNCEY,
Acting Secretary.

Com. John Downes, &c., Boston.
Chas. G. Ridgely, New York.
Chas. Stewart, Philadelphia.
Lewis Warrington, Norfolk.
Jacob Jones, Baltimore.

Under this order, the number of blacks and other colored persons on board our vessels of war, has been greatly diminished, and no more are now admitted than are supposed to be necessary to the performance of certain menial offices, for which white men are not generally qualified, or to which they are not willing to submit. If it is thought best to exclude them altogether, Mr. Botts has only to take the course we have pointed out to him, and Congress can act definitively on the subject.

Before we conclude, justice to Lieutenant Hooe requires an explanation of a portion of a passage in a preceding article devoted to a recapitulation of his case, and which may lead to some misconception. It is there stated, after reciting the charges, "On these charges Lieutenant Hooe was fully convicted, with the qualification that the beating of Calvin Morgan was not 'in a cruel and scandalous manner.'" Our meaning was, that he was fully convicted of inflicting punishment "contrary to the internal regulations of the ship, and in direct violation of the third article of the act for the better government of the navy."

We have now done with the subject, at least for the present, unless Mr. Botts should by some new exhibition of Whig tactics, render it necessary to correct his statements, or by studied delays, make it our duty again to urge on him a reference of the subject to the Judiciary Committee.—*Globe*.

The Louisville Advertiser of the 20th June, states upon the authority of a gentleman, who witnessed the late celebration at Tippecanoe, that "there was a body of at least 1,000 negroes in attendance, decorated with Harrison badges, and headed by five negro delegates from Tennessee, bearing appropriate Abolition devices."

RICHMOND, Va., WEDNESDAY, JULY 8.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Public Sentiment.

A letter from one of the most respectable citizens of Accomac, of 30th June, describes the noble spirit which animates that county. He says, "the changes have been great, and under the adverse circumstances by which we have been surrounded, unexampled. Van Buren, at the last election, received but 35 votes in this county. Yesterday, the Democratic Committee had a meeting, and enlarged it to upwards of 300 good and true men."—A letter from one of the most distinguished citizens of Shenandoah, says: "The counties of Rockingham, Shenandoah and Page, are the stronghold of the Democracy of the State of Virginia, and our opponents have taken great pains to send their most able political champions amongst us, to disseminate what they call the true principles of Democracy, to wit: Whiggery, in all its various phases, shades and colors, with now and then an acknowledgment that a National Bank is a grand panacea for all the evils of a deranged currency. But, the log cabin and hard cider gentlemen have made no favorable impression here. On the contrary, it has roused the Democratic party to a true sense of the importance of the crisis in our public affairs, and we have organized our party in the most efficient manner to bring every voter to the polls in Nov. next."—The Shenandoah Sentinel says: "Page, we now feel certain, will give us nearly 500 Democratic majority—almost all the votes of the county. Well, there are 500—Shenandoah is good for 1,000—we can and we will have it—Rockingham 1,000—Harrison, in the neighborhood of 1,000. What counties in the State can offset this majority of 3,500? Can any? Put Loudoun, Augusta, Accomac and Greenbrier together, and can they do it?"—Wm. C. Rives has visited Green, Harrison and Monongalia in vain. A letter from Clarksburg of 30th June, claims at least 1,000 majority in Harrison and Monongalia for Van Buren—and this, too, after Rives's gasconade. The following letter is published in the *Globe*:

Extract from a letter dated

"CLARKSBURG, (Va.) June 27, 1840.

"DEAR SIR: The Whig Convention, held at this place, has just come off. The number of persons in attendance on that occasion, including Democrats, is variously stated, from 1,000 to 6,000. An average between these numbers, is certainly too great a number. We had speeches from Mr. Rives and Mr. Southall, occupying the whole day, in which stereotyped slang was handed forth copiously. There was nothing new, if we except the dress and application of a few old anecdotes. "One currency for the Government," &c; "the standing army;" "the extravagant expenditures," &c. of which you have heard more than I, were the topics. Our county did not turn out strongly. I think our Whig strength was not there; at all events, of the citizens of Harrison county in attendance, a majority were Democrats. Our boys demeaned themselves very orderly. Col. Parrott was here, with the Harrison badge on, and he boasted to me of the civility and politeness of Administration men, by whom he was pressed to partake their hospitality.

"I was awake to the effect, and am of the deliberate opinion that we were the gainers. The parade was imposing. Flags of all devices, emblematic of the heterogeneous sentiments of the party, were exhibited: Cider barrels and gourds, and pewter medals of log cabins, were displayed.—We have all heard of the black cockade of old Federalism. This was not there, but its legitimate offspring was. The delegation from all the counties wore a badge of silk ribbon, with devices pinned to their lapels. But my object is this letter is not to give you the minutiae of the Convention.

"You will see by the papers that the Democrats have determined to hold primary meetings at their several precincts, and at some subsequent time a general county meeting; we wish to assemble the county in a solid body. We wish also to have some of our distinguished Democrats present."

A letter from a Democrat of Jackson county, says: "We will carry this county by a majority of 2 to 1 for Van Buren."

MR. KENDALL AND J. M. BOTTS, ESQ.

There are in this world of many sorts, at least three kinds of great men. 1st. Those whose virtues command the approbation and eulogy of the good and generous, and bid defiance to the puny and malignant shafts of the wicked and malevolent. 2d. Those who, deficient in the qualities of the truly great, yet dash themselves forward upon an element unsuited to their specific gravity, and by a succession of bold and brilliant efforts to sustain themselves, for a time excite the admiration of mankind, and then go down like Lucifer, never to rise again. 3rd. Those who, distinguished

neither for any superior disinterestedness of character nor splendor of intellect, are forever lashing the element in which they move, to the annoyance of all around them, in the hope of provoking controversy and gaining some eclat, by being "lashed" into a notoriety, to be had in no other way, and which their mental calibre dare bid them ever hope to attain.

To this latter class belongs the "Hon." John Minor Botts, a gentleman, who has managed, though heretofore unknown beyond the smoke of his "log-cabin," by means of an arrogance and audacity predicated on his official station, to gain a notoriety which none but his "honor" can envy, and no unambitious man would desire to possess.

Overjoyed at having obtained a seat in the Congress of the United States—a seat, he well knows he has few qualifications to fill, and which would never have been awarded to him, except as a choice of evils, he resolved at all hazards and at any expense to propitiate the favor of the deluded disciples of his church. In furtherance of this object, his whole course in Congress seems to have been one of the most unscrupulous partizanship. His occupation seems to have been that of a drudge in the warfare which has been carried on against the Administration—as if by silent and universal consent, the culinary department of the Whig household had been assigned to the "Hon." John Minor Botts—The dirty work which has heretofore been performed by others, he has kindly undertaken—His course on the New Jersey case ought to doom any man—His course on Abolition led to the formation of an "Executive Committee," with Botts, Clark, Saltontall, (two Abolitionists, along with Truman Smith, of Connecticut, a third Abolitionist,) as its prominent and active members—His course about the mails—the garbling of public documents on the subject of expenditures—his disingenuous and hypocritical course about Lieut. Hooe's case—his controversy with Kendall, sufficiently mark the true character of the man to be that of a third rate political demagogue. Mr. Kendall attaches entirely too much importance to him—Were we in his place, he might go to somebody else to lash him into notice—we would not. It is "breaking the butterfly on a wheel."

The Fredericksburg Arena deems "comment on the Lyons letter unnecessary." What does he think of the one to Evans, as revealed in Calhoun's letter? What of Gates' letter, &c.? Will he please make some comments on them? What is the Lyons letter worth, even if it had gone as far as to acknowledge the forged letter to Sloo, when counter revelations were showing forth in an opposite quarter? Will the Arena tell? By the by, what has become of the letter he said to Mr. Lyons he had written to a committee of the New York Legislature, in which he had designated certain letters, speeches, &c., as containing his present opinions? We wonder if Sloo's letter is among the number of approved documents.

Expenditures—Federal Persecution and Garbling.

Under this head, the Whig of the 27th contains some "specifications" of alleged extravagance and waste of money by the Administration. We are unable to say whether they are true or not; but, if true, they fail in the object for which they are paraded before the public eye. It is usual for the Government, in every Department of its service, to furnish articles of the description specified. If any of them seem to have been charged for at an exorbitant price, it is but another confirmation of a very well known fact, that "Uncle Sam" is, and always has been, expected to pay higher prices than individuals. An illustration can be easily and readily furnished for the information of the Whig, which we ask him to copy into his next Number after this appears, for the information of his readers. We offer it as a "specification" of Whig extravagance and speculation, absolutely beyond the control of the President or his friends. It will be remembered, that on the motion and at the instance of the Whigs in Congress, a committee was raised for the purpose of whitewashing the Swartwout defalcation. A majority of Whigs constituted that committee. They proceeded to New York; took rooms, &c.

jings, &c., and here is their account against the Government. It will be seen, that their object was not to recover back any portion of the default it was their business to investigate, but to "line their own pockets with cash," by participating in it:

House of Representatives

To Select Committee on Defalcations:
Cash paid Astor House for sixteen and a half days' board of six members, viz: Messrs. Harlan, Wise, Smith, Curtis, Hopkins, Dawson, and Mr. Fendall, their clerk, (wines and liquors not included,) \$400 10
Extra charges for fuel, rooms, lights, &c., 110 00
Paid messenger, 6 44
Messrs. Owens, Foster and Wagener's bill at American Hotel, 210 00
Mileage, 500 miles, for nine members, 1,800 00
Same for clerk, 200 00

\$2,726 54

Four hundred dollars and ten cents for the board of 10 men 16½ days! Eighteen hundred dollars to defray the travelling expense of 10 men to and from N. York!! Here's waste and extravagance for you—Here's a case for the Whigs to put the seal of their reprobation on, if they really are enemies to extravagance; but this case and hundreds of others, are carefully concealed from the "public eye," as they would now conceal the opinions of their candidate, whilst, by falsehood, perversion and a garbling of the public vouchers of the country, they are busily engaged in making the impression, that the very extravagance and waste which they have occasioned are justly chargeable to the friends of the Administration. Let us analyze this account a little further, and see if these economical Whigs have not themselves been chousing the people, and how much of their hard earnings they actually cabbaged during their profitable pleasure trip to New York. We will say nothing about any portion of the account but mileage.—Well, of this how much did each man receive?

The charge for mileage was	\$2,000
Actual expenses in going to and returning from N. York, could not have been more than \$30 each; which for the ten, would amount to	300
Leaving	\$1,700 more than they paid out.
Pay as members of Congress in mean time, 132 each, for 9 members	\$1,188
Aggregate,	\$2,888
Off for clerk,	200
	\$2,688

Each member's portion of this amount was \$299 66 for 16½ days, running up for each day they were in N. York, their compensation to the neat little sum of \$18 and 16 cents—being \$10 and 16 cents more per day for 16½ days, than they were in equity and justice entitled to: making the large sum (including \$170 for the clerk, which is all he should have had,) of ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHT DOLLARS AND NINETY-FOUR CENTS, out of which this committee of Whigs filched the public Treasury, and then had the audacity and meanness to charge their own crimes upon the President. "O shame where is thy blush!" The printing also which grew out of this rotten concern, amounted to the sum of \$18,000. Wise and Peyton's committee in 1837, cost for printing \$50,000. The Indian, book and light-house expenditures, all belong and are owing to the corruptions of the Whig party, and yet they charge the whole on the Administration. We may recur to this subject again, and expose still further the infamous defamers.

But one word for the present about Gen. Harrison himself! The last Warrenton Jeffersonian states, that "General Harrison was commissioned Minister Extraordinary to the Republic of Colombia, the 24th of May, 1828, and charged his salary from that date, in his settled public account. The Intelligencer states, that he was recalled by Gen. Jackson, "for exercising the elective franchise; which election was on the 3d of November following. For nearly six months, he received a

salary of \$9,000 as Minister to a foreign Government, whilst he was electioneering in Ohio for John Q. Adams. As an honest man, ought he to have charged the U. S. for that time thus employed? Are such constructive service recommendations for the more responsible office of President of the U. S.? Answer, ye 'Whigs' who support him."

Remarkable Reminiscence!

Glancing casually over the Enquirer of 4th October, 1836, we lit upon the following Extract—which contains so many words in season, that we cannot forbear laying it before our Readers. It depicts precisely most of the objections, which are now made to the Federal candidate—with this exception indeed, that if he was so objectionable four years ago, how much more so is he at this time, when circumstances have made him the candidate of the Abolitionists—when he conceals his opinions behind a mask, and refuses to answer the most important interrogatories, coming from friend or foe—and when we are assailed by the most unparalleled means and the most ridiculous humbugs, on the part of the Opposition. If a man was then "a knave or a fool" for supporting Gen. Harrison, why! what is he now?

There is but one more stroke of the pencil necessary to complete the picture. The writer of this extract has suffered his feelings to run so much away with his judgment, that after being a Conservative like W. C. Rives, he is now like W. C. Rives an avowed supporter of "this ultra Federalist for the first station in the Republic." But our consolation is, if we have lost a few Conservatives, we have gained some honest Nullifiers, or States Rights Whigs: ("What a change has come over the spirit of his dream," since the author traced the following indignant and eloquent lines!) What were then the arts and efforts of the Whigs, are still the same, with the advantage which they have acquired by longer experience, and more audacious humbugs! But what was THEN "the sentiment of Virginia" is STILL the sentiment of that noble old State:

THE SENTIMENT OF VIRGINIA.

Extract of a letter from a well-informed citizen beyond the Mountains.

"I am delighted with your review of the political course of General Harrison. You have stripped him of his mask and presented him in his true character, with all his political errors exposed. With what consistency can any one object to Messrs. Adams, Clay, and Webster, and vote for Gen. Harrison? The politics of the latter are as obnoxious as those of either of the former, without one-tenth of their capacity or political information. He is as ultra in all his Federal doctrines, as either of the Adamses or Alexander Hamilton. What politician has ever pushed his Tariff or Internal Improvement doctrines to a greater extreme? Who has ever advocated as strong consolidation doctrines? And yet strange to tell, the State Rights Republicans of Virginia are called upon to support this ultra Federalist for the 'first station' in the Republic—and 'in the world.' The day has been, when such a proposition to the Republicans of the Old Dominion would have been considered an insult, and the author of it would have been considered a fool or a knave and his proposition would have been received with scorn. Can we have become so degenerate, that such an unprincipled proposition will receive more favor from us, than it would have received from our Fathers? It is not so. The Republicans of the Old Dominion are as honest and firm in their principles, as they have ever been; and they will at the polls in November give the lie to all these charges. They will then by their votes show to the world, that her sons are true to her principles and to themselves; and they will give to the unprincipled Whigs (who would move Earth, Heaven and Hell to obtain the spoils of office) a rebuke, which it is to be hoped, will prevent them from attempting again to disgrace the Old Dominion, by giving her vote to a man who has always been the very antipode to her in politics.

"The Whigs will again find to their sorrow, that they have, as usual, calculated too largely on the ignorance of the people. This is their great error. The people of Virginia are intelligent, patriotic, and honest. They understand their rights, and know how to protect them. They are well acquainted with the Whigs too. They understand all their dirty tricks and miserable devices—all their panics and humbuggery (most insulting to their understanding) and they look upon them with the utmost scorn and derision. As far as my observation has extended, the Republican party were never firmer or in better spirits. I have no doubt but that ——— will do its duty—it will give as large a majority to Mr. Van Buren as it ever gave to Gen. Jackson; and from what I can learn in the Federal counties of Greenbrier, Rockbridge, and Augusta, (the Whigs brag counties in this section) the Republicans are wide awake, and will give a good account of themselves in November; and the braggadocio party will find them not so contemptible in numbers, as they would now have the world to believe. White is now considered out of the question, and all candid men admit that the true issue in this State is between Van Buren and Harrison. The former will re-

ceive the whole Republican vote, and the support of the latter will be confined to the old Federalists, and the few scattering Nullifiers. You may rely on it, that Van Buren will get a majority in this State, West of the Blue Ridge, of at least seven or eight thousand, which will be swelled to from ten to twelve thousand, if a full vote should be given. With all of Harrison's boasted popularity in the West, the November elections will prove the truth of what I have said. You may rely on it, that none of the pure Republicans of the Mountains will vote for him. Some of them might have been misled by Judge White's name; but the ridiculous farce at Staunton has opened their eyes, and they now look upon the Judge merely as a decoy duck; and so far from the General's name adding strength to the ticket, it has greatly weakened it."

THE DOCTORS DISAGREE.

The supremacy and irresponsibility of the Executive are boldly asserted.—*Richmond Whig.*

Extract from debate on Appropriation Bill.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Wise] says he holds the Executive responsible for every appropriation made by Congress within the last seven years. How did the gentleman expect the Executive to arrest the legislation of Congress in regard to appropriations? Was it by means of the veto power?

[Mr. Wise responded: "No, not by the veto."]

Then, said Mr. Vanderpoel, I wish the gentleman would define the means which he expects the President to use to prevent improper legislation by us?

[Mr. Wise said it was a certain *indefinable* power, which no one understood better than his friend from New York. It was a look, or a hint, or a shake of the head, by the President. This was all that was necessary to deter his faithful supporters in this House from voting for any measure.]

Mr. Vanderpoel said he was astonished to hear such a doctrine as this from the gentleman from Virginia.—For more than six years has that gentleman and the "indefinable" party with which he has acted, most indignantly declaimed against the alarming increase of Executive power; this has been the burden of his never-ending complaints; and now, forsooth, he holds the President blame-worthy, because he will not transcend his own constitutional functions, and dictate directly to members of Congress, in regard to matters that come clearly within their constitutional province. Was it not very strange that the gentleman should, so suddenly, change his tune? For years has Executive encroachment, real or imaginary, been with that gentleman the alarming political sin of the times; and now, behold, it suits his purpose to attach blame to the President, because he has not practically encroached far enough on the jurisdiction of Congress. He, Mr. V. was not prepared to hear such a doctrine—such a ground of blame against the President from that quarter. He could now, however, he hoped, congratulate the country that the frightful bug-bear of Executive influence had at last disappeared; for the leader of the Opposition had told the House that the President was culpable, because he had not more efficiently exerted that influence.

The Whig insists, that the Militia Bill proposed by Mr. Poinsett, is a Standing Army Bill, and then complains, that the "articles of war" existing and in force at the present moment, should have been recommended as a part of the system. Now, Benzonian! under which King do you speak? If it be a Militia Bill, your Standing Army vanishes. If a Standing Army Bill, then the articles of war lose their novelty. A recommendation for their adoption was not necessary.

Harrison always has been in favor of Organizing the Militia on a splendid and expensive scale; for proofs—

See his Speech against reduction of standing army during administration of John Adams, and advocated its increase.

See his Letter to Gov. Scott of Kentucky, March 10, 1809.

See his Address to Legislative Council of Indiana Territory.

See his Reports in 1817, '18 and '19.

See his Letter to Louisville Legion, Feb. 3, 1840.

Read this testimony, and if you then do not smile at the effort of the Whigs to make you believe Mr. Poinsett's plan, *though disposed of*, as a "bugbear," it will not be the fault of the documents.

The way to stump the Whigs, when they deny, that Harrison voted to sell white men is, to ask them, if they don't buy white men. If they pronounce this a calumny, which follows of course, since they can deny the existence of a State record, attested by its Secretary, ask them to read the certificates of Hugh Miffee, Edgar D. Ferris, and the affair of the three mechanics in New York, all testifying to the fact, that they have actually bought,

and also attempted to buy, free white citizens for money. Buying and selling are equally bad in this case, and the Whigs should spare themselves the pains of defending their MASTER against crimes of which they are likewise guilty.

Views of the Presidential Election.

Address to the People of Virginia.—[No. 6.]

Fellow-citizens: We have invoked your attention to the merits of the Presidential question.—We have shown you, we think, that Gen. Harrison is not the man you should select for a President. We have proved him a uniform, thorough Federalist.—We have traced him, carefully, step by step, from the days of the old to the younger Adams. He was identified with the men and measures of the "Reign of Terror." He was twice appointed to lucrative offices by John Adams.—He spoke against a reduction of his standing Army, at a time when there was no fear of an invasion from France, and when Virginia was not only remonstrating against its continuance, but passing laws to arm her militia. He acknowledged, when charged by Mr. Randolph with being a "Cockade Federalist," that he might have heard him express sentiments favorable to the Administration of Mr. Adams; that he always held him in high respect, and believed him a patriot and an honest man. In addition to this testimony, we have shown you from his votes, speeches and acts, that his views of Constitutional construction are precisely those entertained by the Hamilton and Webster school of politicians. We have shown you, that he recognizes the power of the Federal Government in almost every conceivable form, over the subject of Internal Improvements—that his views upon the Tariff are decidedly ultra and dangerous to the South—in fact, we have already shown you he ought not to be President, and that Virginia cannot, with any sort of regard for principle or consistency, sustain his pretensions for the Presidency: but we have more to show you yet—all has not been said that may be said to show, how unfit he is for the high office to which he aspires. General Harrison avows himself to be a National Distributionist. Let the coffers of your Treasury be overflowing with the spoils of a teeming Tariff, and the General will be at no loss for the means of disposing of it. His expedients to drain the Treasury are equalled only by those to fill it. He is as unscrupulous in spending money, as he is in raising it. If he cannot find constitutional objects to exhaust it, he will use it for unconstitutional purposes. He will distribute it among the States for Internal Improvements, for the purpose of protecting domestic manufactures, or for the purchase and exportation of your slaves. Are you, fellow-citizens, in favor of such a principle? Are you in favor of being taxed by the Federal Government, to raise money for distribution, that the States may do what the Constitution, by such means, forbids? Is it not at last the Federal authority doing that indirectly, which they dare not attempt directly? Are you willing that any other authority shall be the judge of what improvements you shall have in your State, if any? Can you not judge for yourselves, and when you want them, raise the money by the action of your own Legislature? What would be the effect of the policy of distributing surpluses?—Would it not operate to the prejudice of Southern interests? The South pays more into the Treasury, than any other geographical division of the Union. The surplus, according to the distribution principle, would not come back to us in the ratio we paid it, but according to the "Federal population of each State." But we will not enlarge. Gen. Harrison shall speak for himself. Here are two extracts from his Sherrod Williams' letter:

"From the opinions which I have formed of the intention of the Constitution, as to cases in which the veto power should be exercised by the President, I would have contented myself with giving an affirmative answer to the four first questions; but, from the deep interest which has been and indeed is now felt in relation to all the subjects, I think it proper to express my views upon each one separately.

I answer then, 1st. That the immediate return of all the surplus money which is, or ought to be, in the Treasury of the U. S., to the possession of the people from whom it was taken, is called for by every principle of policy, and, indeed, of safety to our institutions; and I know of no mode of doing it better than that recommended by the present Chief Magistrate, in his first annual message to Congress, in the following words: 'To avoid these evils it appears to me that the most safe, just and federal disposition which could be made of the surplus revenue, would be its apportionment among the several States according to the ratio of representation.'

"This proposition has reference to a state of things which now actually exists, with the exception of the amount of money thus to be disposed of: for it could not have been anticipated by the President, that the surplus above the real wants or convenient expenditures of the Government would become so large, as that retaining it in the Treasury would so much diminish the circulating medium as greatly to embarrass the business of the country.

"What other disposition can be made of it with a view to get it into immediate circulation, but to place it in the hands of the State authorities? So great is the amount, and so rapidly is it increasing, that it could not be expended for a very considerable time on the comparatively few objects to which it could be appropriated by the General Government; but the desired distribution amongst the people could be immediately effected by the State, from the infinite variety of ways in which it might be employed by them. By them it might be loaned to their own banking institutions, or even to individuals—a mode of distribution by the General Government, which I sincerely hope is in the contemplation of no friend to his country.

"2d. Whilst I have always broadly admitted that the public lands were the common property of all the States, I have been the advocate of that mode of disposing of them, which would create the greatest number of freeholders; and I conceived that in this way the interests of all would be as well secured as by any other disposition; but since, by the small size of the tracts in which the lands are now laid out, and the reduction of the price, this desirable situation is easily attainable by any person of tolerable industry, I am perfectly reconciled to the distribution of the proceeds of the sales as provided for by the bill introduced into the Senate by Mr. Clay; the interests of all seem to be well provided for by this bill; and as for the opposition which has hitherto been made to the disposition of the lands heretofore contemplated by the representatives of the new States, there is no probability of its being adopted, I think it ought no longer to be insisted on.

"3d. As I believe that no money should be taken from the Treasury of the United States to be expended on Internal Improvements, but for those which are strictly national, the answer to this question would be easy, but from the difficulty of determining which of those that are from time to time proposed, would be of this description. This circumstance, the excitement which has already been produced by appropriations of this kind, and the jealousies which it will no doubt continue to produce if persisted in, give additional claims to the mode of appropriating all the surplus revenue of the United States in the manner above suggested. Each State will then have the means of accomplishing its own schemes of Internal Improvement. Still there will be particular cases when a contemplated improvement will be of no greater advantage to the Union generally, and some particular States, than to that in which it is to be made. In such cases, as well as those in the new States, where the value of the public domain will be greatly enhanced by an improvement in the means of communication, the General Government should certainly largely contribute. To appropriations of the latter character there has never been any very warm opposition. Upon the whole, the distribution of the Surplus Revenue amongst the States seems likely to remove most, if not all, the causes of dissension of which the Internal Improvement system has been the fruitful source. There is nothing, in my opinion, more sacredly incumbent upon those who are concerned in the administration of our Government, than that of preserving harmony between the States. From the construction of our system, there has been, and probably ever will be, more or less, jealousy between the General and State Governments; but there is nothing in the Constitution—nothing in the character of the relation which the States bear to each other, which can create any unfriendly feeling, if the common guardian administers its favor with an even and impartial hand. That this may be the case, all those to whom any portion of this delicate power is entrusted, should always act upon the principles of forbearance and conciliation; ever more ready to sacrifice the interest of their immediate constituents, rather than violate the rights of the other members of the family. Those who pursue a different course, whose rule is never to stop short of the attainment of all which they may consider their due, will often be found to have trespassed upon the boundary they had themselves established. The observations with which I shall conclude this letter, on the subject of the veto power by the President, will apply to this as well as your other questions."

What say you now, Messieurs Whigs, to Gen. Harrison's opinions? Are they in accordance with the State Rights' principles of Virginia? He says, that every principle of "policy" and, indeed, "safety to our institutions," requires that the money, not only which "is," but "ought to be" in the Treasury, should be immediately returned to the people "from whom it was taken." Does he not here avow himself a constant and never-ending distributionist?—does he not, in effect, avow that if there is not money in the Treasury it "ought" to be there, and of course put there by a Tariff, as a means of removing the causes of dissension of which the Internal Improvement system has been the fruitful source? In connection with this subject he further says, there is nothing "more sacredly incumbent upon those who are concerned in the administration of our Government than that of preserving harmony between the States;" and how? by rais-

ing money for the purpose of distribution in order to enable them to carry on Internal Improvements, &c. "The excitement which has already been produced by appropriations of this kind give additional claims to this mode" of relieving the Treasury of its contents.—Ah indeed! "The excitement which has been produced" by one violation of the Constitution is to be allayed then by another more palpable and gross injustice, according to this nostrum of the Federal candidate. If it is wrong for the Federal Government to raise money for Internal Improvements direct, it is more so to raise it for that object, to be placed by a distribution law in the coffers of the State Treasury. Because one is a sample of the other—a double violation of the Constitution—and yet Gen. Harrison is not only in favor of distributing among the States any monies not wanted for an economical administration of public affairs, which may, by a conjunction of favorable circumstances, be suddenly accumulated in the Treasury; but in favor of keeping the Treasury full at all times for distribution, as a means of "preserving harmony among the States," and removing the dissensions of which an unconstitutional "Internal Improvement system has been the fruitful source." True, the General attempts to shelter himself behind General Jackson; but that will not do. The bare suggestion which he made of getting rid by distribution of a surplus in the Treasury, which the prosperous condition of the country had forced into it, without the ability to avoid it, and when such a policy was never thought of by him—can be no excuse or justification for Gen. Harrison's making it the settled policy of the Government. Besides, Gen. Jackson, on better reflection, was known to have felt great embarrassment in reference to the constitutional power of Congress even to carry the principle as far as he suggested, and was known to have signed the bill for that object with great reluctance.—He is and was decidedly opposed to raising money for distribution, and believes such a law would be a violent infraction of constitutional law and a downright attack on State sovereignty. But the General asks, how otherwise could it be disposed of? We say in any manner which does not violate the Constitution.—In the event of a sudden accumulation beyond our wants, reduce the revenue laws, or if nothing better can be done, deposit on interest with the States for safe keeping only until by a cutting down process, it may be required for the use of the General Government. This last proposition would be better, though bad enough. But in the name of the Constitution, and all that is dear to us as freemen, do not make it the policy of the Federal Government to raise large sums of money to be distributed among the States for the avowed purpose of effecting indirectly that which the Constitution forbids. Now, fellow-citizens, can you require any further evidence of Gen. Harrison's Federal notions? You have seen, that he will stretch and construe the Constitution in any way, to carry out his views of public policy.—He balks at no difficulty—but rushes headlong, trampling down all its dear and precious safeguards into the very vortex of Federal consolidation. How can you support him? We are sure you cannot.—But we must go on a little further. Not content with distributing surpluses among the States, to do with as they please, in order to obviate the "excitement" heretofore produced and the "jealousies" which will continue to be produced by an exercise of the power on the part of the Federal Government to carry on works of improvement, the Federal candidate still proposes a concurrent jurisdiction direct over the subject by Federal authority whenever, in the opinion of a majority of Congress, there shall be "particular cases" when a contemplated improvement will be of "greater advantage" to the Union generally and "some particular States," than to "that" in which it is to be made. In such cases, the General Government should largely "contribute." Well, was there ever such a politician? He is more inscrutable than the incoherent and broken accents of the Delphic responses. He is in fact a political "omnium gatherum." First, he adopts distribution as the only panacea to guard against the "dissensions and jealousies" of the States; and then a system of National Internal Improvements to promote this "dissension and jealousy," and the money for each object is to be raised by an overbearing and stupendous Tariff. A beautifully balanced system, to be sure! a system, which will do more to impair State sovereignty and corrupt the fountain of legislation, than any other that human ingenuity could devise.

It would, as Mr. Calhoun has said, be not only unconstitutional, but highly dangerous and absurd. It would be shifting the responsibility of raising money for Virginia, from its own agents, to those of the other States in the General Congress assembled. It would change the relations which should prevail between the Federal Government and the States—and convert the latter into stipendiaries to the former. It would place the States at the feet of the Federal power—inducing them to ask for favors which it has no right to grant—submit to encroachments which they ought to resist—and change, in fact, the whole genius of the Constitution. Upon the Southern States, besides, it would

operate in a manner as unequal as it is insidious; taxing them, in the first instance, for the benefit of the Northern manufacturers, and, in the second, allowing them only a part of the money which they had contributed to the Treasury—in fact, keeping up the Tariff to raise a distributable fund, and then sharing the surplus in part among the very manufacturers who had taxed them. Besides this gross inequality, the whole system presents to us the greater absurdity of paying the expenses of first raising and then distributing a fund, which is not necessary for the general expenses of the Government.

The whole scheme, indeed, is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution; mischievous, corrupting and absurd. The States first taste of the flesh-pots of Egypt, and then are too strongly tempted to sacrifice their birthright for the mess which is offered to them. If, by any extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, as has lately happened, a surplus should accumulate in the Treasury, the remedy is obvious. Prevent the recurrence of such accumulation. Reduce the Tariff with more rapidity. Lower the taxes, in other words.—This is the true maxim of a Republic, and much more of a Republican Federal Government. It is the maxim, which the Republican party will pursue. It belongs to their School. It will henceforth become their principle of action, in contradistinction to the Federal party.

But, Gen. Harrison goes for *Distribution*, not for *Deposit*, among the States. Not a word does he say of a temporary deposit—but he speaks of “*returning*” it to the people—of a “*Distribution*” amongst the people.—Not a word does he say either of reducing the Tariff; and thus preventing the accumulation of other surpluses for other distributions. In fact, he tells Sherrod Williams, that there is no better mode for appropriating all the Surplus Revenue of the U. S., than to distribute it among the States for the purposes of Internal Improvement—and that *this way* of carrying on their Improvements tends to “*remove the causes of dissection*” of which the Improvement “*system had been the fruitful source.*” We understand him, therefore, as expressly recommending, that such valuable improvements should be carried on by a distribution of the surplus—and that the distribution should become a systematic and regular function of the General Government.

Are these your views, Citizens of Virginia? Are these the doctrines of the candidate, whom you would wish to place at the head of the Administration? We will undertake to say for you, and for every man, who is the friend of your good Old State Rights principles, that this forced, artificial system is not congenial to their wishes. You are not for employing your limited Federal Government for any such purposes. You are for Virginia's raising the money which she may want for herself—and you are for her making her own roads and canals. You have no desire to call in the great Federal Power, either to tax you for the money, or to interfere with the sovereignty of your soil. You are, in other words, if ever any Surplus should again accumulate, for *reducing the Tariff*, and for *dispensing with all distribution*. Such too is the doctrine of the Republican candidate, whom we recommend to your suffrages. Hear what Mr. Van Buren says in his reply to the same Sherrod Williams:

“In my opinion, Congress does not possess the power, under the Constitution, to raise money for distribution among the States; and if a distinction can be maintained between raising money for such purpose, and the distribution of an unexpected surplus, (of which I am not satisfied,) I think it ought not to be attempted without a previous amendment of the Constitution, defining the authority and regulating its exercise. Apprehending danger to the Union from the course of Federal Legislation upon the subject of Internal Improvements, and fearing that it could not otherwise be arrested, I was inclined, at the commencement of President Jackson's Administration, to favor the idea of a distribution annually among the States, of the surplus revenue, and an amendment of the Constitution conferring on Congress authority to make it. President Jackson, entertaining similar apprehensions, submitted suggestions to this effect to the consideration of Congress. They met with approbation in some quarters, but were denounced in others, with extraordinary severity, as encouraging a policy particularly unjust and ruinous to a portion of the Union, and subversive of the principles upon which it was founded. Time and circumstances have worked changes of opinion on the subject, from which my own mind has not been exempted. The intelligence and patriotism of the people proved adequate to the desired reform, in the legislation of Congress upon the subject of Internal Improvements, without resorting to the proposed distribution; and the experience of the last session has fully satisfied me of the impropriety of any such measure. ‘The support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration of our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican tendencies;’ and ‘the preservation of the General Government, in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad,’ were described by Mr. Jef-

erson as among the essential principles of our Government, which ought always to shape its administration. The experience of more than thirty years has attested the wisdom and justice of these sentiments—and it behoves those who are entrusted with the management of public affairs, to beware how they disregard the admonition. They who can yet allow themselves to hope that these great principles can be maintained under the operation of any of the proposed systems of distribution, have looked upon the signs of the times in a different light from myself. It is my firm conviction, that any system by which a distribution is made among the States, of moneys collected by the Federal Government, is productive of the most injurious effects, as well upon the best interests of the country, as upon the perpetuity of our political institutions. I sincerely hope, therefore, that the good sense and patriotism of the American people will prevent the adoption of any such plan. The Deposit Bill (recently passed) will remove any pretence of a speedy necessity for such a step, and give time to provide against the recurrence of a redundancy of revenue. It would, indeed, be a great misfortune, if that law were regarded by the country as pledging the future course of its legislation to the policy to which you refer. The circumstances under which it was passed, were of an extraordinary character, and cannot well again occur.”

Speaking of the Deposit Bill, Mr. V. Buren says, “By the bill, as amended, no money is drawn from the Treasury, but the State Treasuries, like the State banks, are, to a limited extent, made places of deposit; of the constitutional power to do which, with the consent of the States, there can be no question. The President, assuming, as he was bound by a proper respect for the institutions of the country to do, that good faith would be kept in the dealings which it authorized between the Federal and State Governments, gave his assent to the measure. I would have given to the bill a similar direction, if it had become my duty to decide on the question of its passage or rejection. It now remains for public opinion, to the efficacy of which we all have so much reason to look with confidence and hope, to determine the character of the ultimate results to be expected from it. That the subject is of the first importance, all must admit; and I participate fully in the apprehensions so extensively entertained and so freely expressed as to its effects. But I do not despair. Often as we have seen our political horizon overcast with portentous clouds, and the safe conduct of public affairs beset by combinations, which, to all appearance, could not be overcome, we have never yet seen the time when those doubts and difficulties were not finally and satisfactorily cleared away by the operation of this powerful corrector.—Such, I doubt not, will be the result now; and such, in the nature of things, must it always be, as long as the people are uncorrupted and our institutions free. Prejudice, passion and selfishness, may rule the hour, and give a direction to public questions, when the controlling power rests in a single head, or in a few individuals whose position exempts them from the injurious effects of official errors; but this can seldom happen, when that power exists only, as is the case with us, in the great body of well informed and virtuous communities, who are to bear the consequences, whether for good or for evil, of public measures.—It is now for the majority of the people to decide, whether the measure referred to shall only be tolerated as a temporary expedient, forced upon the country by a conjunction of extraordinary circumstances, and rendered less objectionable in consequence of its effect in removing beyond the reach of party contention and factious misrepresentations, disturbing questions in relation to the public moneys, at a moment when the public mind is, from other causes, peculiarly liable to be unduly influenced by sinister and unfounded imputations; or, whether the distribution of the public deposits, shall be the parent and forerunner of future distributions of the public revenue. That the decision of this interesting question will be honestly made, we all know, and I do not doubt that it will also be wisely made. I hope, and believe, that the public voice will demand, that this species of legislation shall terminate with the emergency that produced it—that early and efficient steps will be taken to prevent the recurrence of a state of things calculated to furnish an excuse for any measure of distribution, by the adoption of the only natural, safe and just remedy for an excess of revenue, a reduction of the taxes, effectual in its results, equitable in its details, and wisely adapted to the circumstances of the country—that we shall be content to continue the action of our complicated but admirable system of Government, State and Federal, in the course that has conducted our country to its present palmy state of prosperity and renown—and shall eschew in future those schemes of improvement in their administration, with which the country is from time to time inundated, the results of which, to say the best of them, are extremely hazardous, and which too often have quite as much in view the individual advantage of the projector as the good of the nation.”

How much more admirable are these views; than the crude conceptions of the Military Candidate! The one exhibits the principles of the statesman; the other,

the shifting, artificial notions of a novice in politics.—The one is for leaving the people at the States, as free as possible—the other, for regulating both by a forced and Federal standard. Which then will you prefer? Harrison or Van Buren?

The Sub-Treasury Bill Passed—The People Sovereign and Independent.

This important measure, so dear to the heart of every true patriot, has now become the law of the land; and, whatever differences of opinion may have heretofore existed in regard to it, when the subject was but little understood, and the most violent prejudices were appealed to by the selfish, in order to delay it, no one who has any regard for truth, can now say, that it has not received their assent and approbation. The vote upon the bill was 124 to 107, showing a clear majority of 17 in favor of this great Democratic reform measure of the Administration. It was presented to the nation in September, 1837, by Mr. Van Buren, and has been ever since a matter of constant and incessant discussion in Congress, the State Legislatures, and among the people themselves; and they have finally decreed, by a large majority, that it shall be the law of the land. Had those of the Whig party voted for the bill, who sustained a similar measure in 1834, it would have passed by a much larger majority; but, preferring “hard cider and rum toddy,” to a proper sense of their own consistency and duty to their country, they basely reversed their solemn judgments, and entailed upon themselves an everlasting disgrace. This bill contemplates two objects—1st. A disconnection with all banks, by requiring gold and silver exclusively for the purposes of the Federal Government, at the expiration of six years; and, 2dly. The bill requires the public monies to be collected, kept and disbursed by public officers appointed by the President and Senate, enforcing a strict compliance with their duties under severe and heavy penalties. These are the main and only principles of importance contained in the bill. It has been in practical operation ever since May, 1837, when all the banks in the U. S. suspended specie payments, and during which time we have enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity and happiness, considering the deranged state of the currency; prosperity, which must be greatly enhanced by the many beneficial regulations it contains, if the banks but discharge their duties to the people and the country, instead of playing the part of political hacks to procure its repeal. A few reminiscences, however, may not be inappropriate at the present time. Our readers will remember, that in 1834, Mr. Robertson of Virginia moved to recommit the Deposit bill then before Congress, with instructions to report an amendment dispensing with the agency and instrumentality of banks, in the fiscal operations of the Government.—The Whigs voted for the motion. The ayes and noes being called for, there appeared 91 yeas and 115 nays; all the Whigs voting for it. Here are the names:

“Yeas—Messrs. J. Q. Adams, A. Allen, J. J. Allen, Chilton Allen, Archer, Ashley, John Banks, Barber, Barnitz, Barrington, Bates, John Bell, Bayliss, Beal, Beatty, Binney, Briggs, Burgess, Campbell, Chambers, Chilton, Claiborne, Clark, Clayton, Thomas Corwin, Crane, Crockett, Darlington, Davis, Davenport, Deberry, Denny, Dickson, Evans, Everett, Ewing, Fillmore, Foster, Gambell, Garland, Gholson, Gordon, Gorham, Grayson, Geo. Grenell, jr., Griffin, Hall, Hard, Harding, Harper, Hazletine, Heath, Hester, W. Jackson, E. Jackson, James, Johnson, Jones, Letcher, Lewis, Lincoln, Love, Martindale, Marshall, McComas, McKennan, Mercer, Miller, Minor, S. McD. Moore, Phillips, Pickens, Potts, jr., J. Reed, Robertson, W. B. Shepard, Slade, Spangler, Steele, Taylor, Tompkins, Trumbull, Tweedy, Vance, Vinton, Watnough, Wilde, L. Williams, E. C. Wilson, Wise, Young—91.”

The Editor of the Whig was a zealous friend of the measure; but yielded to the trammels of party, and abandoned it. In endeavoring to persuade Mr. Wilson of Cumberland, that there was nothing in it to separate him from Whiggery, he said:

“THE SUB-TREASURY SCHEME—a mere child of legislation, which may be tried one year and discarded the next, and which, to try, or not to try at all, does not infringe upon the Constitution—does not, unless by indirection, not of necessity, touch those radical questions either of principle, or an honest practical administration of the Government, which, as they are favorably

or unfavorably resolved, determine the problem of our experiment in free government."

In 1836, Nicholas Biddle said:

"The new charter had the advantage over the old one, in its total separation from all the offices of the Federal Government—an unnatural connection, beneficial to neither the Bank nor the Government."

"It was an evident misfortune in the structure of the Bank, that it was in any way connected with persons in office. The instincts of political power make that association dangerous—useful to neither party—injurious to both."

In 1816, Daniel Webster said:

"The only power which the Government possesses, of restraining the issues of State banks, is, to refuse their notes in the receipts of the Treasury."

In 1830, Mr. Leigh said, in reply to a committee of his friends:

"My judgment, indeed, is altogether opposed to that broad system of implication, by which the power to charter a National Bank, and many other powers, have been derived to the Federal Legislature, and recently to the Federal Executive; which latter has advanced and acted upon a doctrine of implied powers, far more latitudinous than was ever before heard of. In my opinion, the framers of the Constitution had no thought of any bank agency whatever, State or Federal, either for facilitating the operations of the Treasury, or for regulating the currency; and that, to administer the Government in the true spirit of the Constitution, and according to the intention of its founders, the Treasury ought to be divorced from all connexion with banks, State or Federal."

We submit the following comments upon it, from the Speech of General Bayly last winter, in the Legislature:

"This letter was published in the Enquirer of the 26th of September, 1834. The succeeding winter, the Currency question still being the all-absorbing one, Mr. Leigh was re-elected to the Senate by the united Whig vote. But admit that the Whigs are and ever have been opposed to the principles of a divorce of the Government from the Banks, yet I utterly deny that any considerable portion of them have been in favor of the State Bank system."

"Mr. Speaker, do you not recollect the deep execrations which the Whig party heaped upon that system in 1834? Do you not recollect that they, with one voice, proclaimed that it would lead to the disastrous results which have lately distressed the country?—They not only predicted the ruin which it would bring, but they described circumstantially the manner in which it would occur."

"It is a contracted view of the subject to say, that Mr. Rives is opposed to the Sub-Treasury, and that, therefore, he is with the Whigs. Though he may agree with a large majority in opposing the Sub-Treasury, yet he does not agree with them in any other respect. If you take the question in its broad aspect—if you consider the whole of the currency question, he does not agree with the Whigs. Is it possible, Sir, that I am mistaken in this? The Whigs certainly were to a man opposed to the Pet Bank system as the worst possible of all systems. Has any change come over the spirit of their dream? Is it possible, that the Whig party is now about to rally upon an exploded system of Jackson's, which was, but a short time since—and that, too, before its failure—denounced by them with the bitterest execrations?"

Extract from Mr. Leigh's Speech, delivered at Petersburg, 15th October, 1839.

"As to the place of deposit of the public treasure of the United States, and the distribution and disbursement of it, Mr. Leigh had recently intimated in his opinion, that the true principles of the Constitution, according to the intention of its framers, would require that the Treasury should be divorced from all connection with any Bank or Banks, State or Federal. The same proposition had been suggested by Mr. Gordon, at the last session of Congress, and the hint of it in truth was given by Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Gallatin in 1803. A regulation of the Treasury, on that principle, was simple enough. Let a General Treasury Office be established at the seat of Government, under the management of a Treasurer, and local Treasury offices established in each of the States, (as many as should be convenient,) under the management of Assistant Treasurers, requiring bond and security from the Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers for the faithful performance of their trust. Let the public revenue be deposited in these offices as it should be collected. Give power to the Secretary of the Treasury to remove redundant funds from one office to another, where convenience should require them to be disbursed. Give power to the Treasurer to draw warrants on any office he should think proper, guarding the power by suitable and sufficient checks; make it embezzlement and felony in him, wilfully to issue any warrant, except under authority of law, at the bidding of any per-

son whatever; and make it embezzlement and felony in any Assistant Treasurer to use for his own purpose, lend to others, or pay away any money, except to warrants drawn by the Treasurer under due form of law.

"Mr. Leigh said he had no hopes that it would be adopted; because the friends of the State Banks, the friends of a National Bank, the friends of Executive claims to power over the Treasury, would all be opposed to it." "And because the nation would not be content to give up the profits of the sum paid in for revenue, as active capital, in the interval between the collection and disbursement, and to let it lie idle and unproductive; and he might have added, that the expense of such an establishment would be as strenuously urged against it, as if Congress were not disposing of surplus revenue to the tune of millions at every session. But the Jacksonite objection to it, was an *argumentum ad hominem* to him, (Mr. L.) viz: that the scheme would give the custody of the public treasure to the President, which, as these objections intimated, was the very thing that he affected to hold in such dread and aversion. But the obvious effect of the scheme would be to take the public treasure out of the custody and control of the President."

But, in answer to this authority, the Whigs tell us, our party voted against the divorce. True—the Democratic party did then vote against it—but why? Because it was premature and inexpedient, and we might add, because the bill was crudely drawn. They believed it too sudden a transition from a National Bank to hard money. They thought it best to ease off the system by making an experiment of the State banks. The main body of the Whigs, however, were for precipitating the measure, in order to produce as much mischief as possible, to embarrass and distress the people, as a means of making a measure unpopular they plainly saw was in the way of their favorite idol, a National Bank. These were some of the reasons why the Democratic party then opposed the measure. They opposed it when the banks were sound and solvent, and when it was believed they might be made to answer the purposes of a fiscal agency for the Government. But no sooner had they proved faithless and incompetent to the discharge of these duties, than the Whigs in a body wheeled right about, abandoned the Sub-Treasury, because recommended by Mr. Van Buren, and took up the rotten system of State Banks. Can the people place confidence in such wayward, contradictory politicians? But, gentlemen, the agony is over! The bill has passed without you. The "purse" is no longer under Executive discretion, where you wished it to be for base party purposes. The Representatives of the people have thrown around it such guards and penalties, as will subject in future your brethren of the robbing and defaulting order, to confinement at hard work in the penitentiary.—They will not be permitted to take pleasure trips to England and elsewhere, to make more "Whig capital." Your career of plunder is at an end, gentlemen.

The Fête at Shuter's Hill.

To the Editor, dated

"WASHINGTON, July 5, 1840.

"As I presume you would like to hear some account of the proceedings of the Democratic fête which took place at Shuter's Hill, near Alexandria, on yesterday, I avail myself of the first leisure moment to give you some of the particulars of it. A full account is out of the question. About half-past twelve the procession was formed in Alexandria, consisting of more than two thousand, according to the estimate of many of the most intelligent spectators, and proceeded to the place of celebration. Upon reaching the Virginia line, a salute of thirteen guns (six pounders) was fired, amidst the enthusiastic cheering of thousands from the brow of the Hill; and upon its arrival on the ground the guests and spectators were conducted to the table, which was well stored with choice dishes; as creditable to those who provided them, as they were acceptable after our fatigue. After the cloth was removed, and thirteen admirable set toasts were drunk, Mr. Senator Roane, amidst loud and repeated calls from the crowd, repaired to the stand, and delivered an eloquent, powerful and impressive address. I can attempt no report of it, which would not do him injustice. It will be sufficient to say, that he was often interrupted by long, loud and enthusiastic cheering from the crowd, numbering, I think, from four to five thousand. The spirit of Spencer Roane seemed to have arisen from the grave to cheer and animate his countrymen in their struggle to save their free institutions from the rude hand of the Tarquins. In concluding his remarks, he adverted to the day we celebrated as hallowed by the dearest recollections of the Revolutionary struggle of our Fathers, and now doubly dear to us by those ex-

cred recollections, and the signature of President Van Buren to the second Declaration of Independence—the Sub-Treasury bill. This sentiment produced a long and simultaneous cheering from all parts of the crowd. Mr. Roane was followed by several members of the lower House, of distinction. I cannot enumerate them all; nor can I furnish even a sketch of their admirable speeches. They all contained a noble, patriotic and firm tone, and showed that but one spirit actuates and controls the Macedonian phalanx of the Democratic party. The limits of this letter forbid an attempt to speak of each as he deserves. Amongst those, however, who made a decided impression on the bystanders, were Mr. Thomas of Maryland, and Mr. Vanderpoel of New York. Mr. Thomas is unquestionably a man of ability. His speech was eloquent, forcible and pointed. It told with the intelligent, and contained some excellent hits. Amongst others, in commenting on the *janus face* and electioneering conduct of General Harrison, he said the General had one face for the North, another for the South, a third for the East, and a fourth for the West, but no face which was worth looking at. This remark produced great effect, and the cheering was tremendous. His place, however, is in a deliberative body, where the power of reason and argument is felt and acknowledged. In such a place, few men are capable of taking the lead from him. Mr. Vanderpoel is hard to beat before a crowd. In wit, humor and sarcasm he is surpassed by no man I ever heard, and with these he unites considerable ability. He can reason with force, ridicule with effect, or cut with sarcasm at pleasure. I hope this versatility of talent will not spoil him. The discussions were closed by Judge Wick of Indiana, and Mr. Parris of Maine. The speech of each was excellent; but as Judge Wick furnishes us with a new fact in respect to Gen. Harrison's support of the Elder Tarquin, I must communicate it to you for future use. He said Gen. Harrison was undoubtedly a Federalist, had supported the Elder Adams, and had gone so far as to wear the black cockade of his administration. A knowledge of this fact, he further remarked, was not confined to the citizen of Ohio (Mr. Mills, I think,) who had proved it; but he had been told by an old citizen of Indiana, whose character was above suspicion or impeachment, that the General was a Federalist, and for months, to his knowledge, had worn the black cockade of the Federal party, and sustained the administration of John Adams. The whole Territory, Sir, remarked this respected old gentleman, was then Federal. Here the Judge said, I know the scitness—I know his character, and I as implicitly believe his statement as I believe any thing, except the Bible.

"On the conclusion of the speeches, the company retired without the slightest disturbance, and in the very finest spirits, amid the roar of cannon, announcing by anticipation our victory in November, 1840.

"Yours, &c."

"You will use the fact which I mention on the authority of Judge Wick; he is a gentleman of talents above his reputation, and of a character above reproach. I find our friends here in the best spirits."

A word on the "Veto" Power, and one on Abolition.

The Whig denies, on the authority of a sketch by the Detroit Advertiser of Gen. Harrison's Speech at Fort Meigs, that he declared he would approve "all the laws which may pass both Houses of Congress," how contrary soever they might be to his own judgment. It bears, says that paper, "the impress of falsehood." Ah, indeed! But it is vouched for by a gentleman of standing and respectability who was at Cleveland, heard the declaration and immediately noted it down. "Its calumnious character, (then proceeds the Whig,) however, recommended it to the Enquirer, and he forthwith transferred it to its columns, with the characteristic comment "thus striking out the veto power from the Constitution," and in the very next breath, the Whig itself exclaims, "would that the Veto Power was stricken from the Constitution. It is the monarchical feature in our institutions and should never have been there." How very hard the Whig is to please! The Whig believes the Veto to be a "monarchical feature" in our institutions. Gen. Harrison says, he will not exercise that power, if elected—thus furnishing the Whig the very best evidence of a disposition to carry out its views and purge the Constitution of that "feature" believed to be "monarchical," and yet the Whig charges that it is "calumnious" in the Enquirer to ascribe such a declaration to Gen. Harrison. What sort of an affair can this "Whig" man be? But it is the strangest of all things in the world, let the opinions of the Whig be what they may, in reference to the Veto in theory, that that paper should have denounced it at this time—a time, when the South is peculiarly situated as regards it. If, there ever was a period when the South had more to expect from it than another, that period is the present; because on the eve of an important Presidential election involving every principle dear to the South—an election, which may in its results require the aid of the Veto to save us from an unconstitutional National Bank, and from the fearful consequences of an Abolition bill, to say nothing of other measures of equal im-

portance. And the Whig selects this time and this occasion to denounce it as "monarchical;" thus, in effect, inviting and encouraging the Bank, Tariff, Internal Improvement and Abolition parties at the North to press on the consummation of their unhallowed designs already conceived, to break down the barriers of the Constitution, that they, like so many political Vandals, may inundate the fair fields of the South, to feast and fatten their vulture-like rapacity. That the Whig may form some idea of the consequences of undervaluing the Veto at this time, we will present it with a beautiful extract from a letter written by Mr. Adams, the great leader of "the Abolition band." "My involuntary anticipations of the future have been, that slavery will first effect a dissolution of the Union, and that, as a natural consequence of that event, war will abolish slavery, and terminate in a mongrel breed of half blood European and African race—a mulatto nation, which will cover the Southern half of this country from North Carolina to Mexico." "A mulatto nation!" A mongrel breed from North Carolina to Mexico! Which would the Whig prefer—THE VETO, or a mulatto nation?

But to the Veto itself. Whatever may be said against it in theory, has it not operated well in practice? Has it ever been abused? Will the Whig point to an instance? The first application of the Veto, we believe, was under the Administration of Gen. Washington. Congress had passed a bill for a new apportionment of Representatives, under the late census. "This bill had fixed the ratio of inhabitants at 30,000; and instead of applying this number to the population of each State separately, it divided the whole population by the number 30,000, and then distributed the quotient, 120, among the States, according to their relative population: by which process, some of the States had a greater number of Representatives than they were entitled to on the assumed ratio. In other words, there was inequality by this process as well as the other: it merely fell on different States, and happened to be less than by any other rule. This subject had afforded occasion for warm debate, as it involved the question of the relative weight of the States. Various ratios had been proposed without success; and the question was not settled until after a conference of the two Houses. When the bill was submitted to the President, his Cabinet were, as usual, divided about it—Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph thinking the law to violate the meaning of the Constitution, and Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox doubting about it, but advising the consent. The arguments of the former prevailed, and the bill was returned with the President's reasons; in consequence of which, another bill was introduced, raising the ratio to 33,000, and assigning to each State its number of Representatives, without regard to the fractions, as had been originally proposed in the Senate, and it thus finally passed both Houses." Mr. Jefferson subsequently congratulated his Correspondent on the adoption of the Veto, as showing that the power of Congress, when improperly exerted, might be checked. We witness two remarkable and salutary Vetoes under the administration of Mr. Madison. Congress passed a law creating a religious incorporation in the District of Columbia. It violated the Constitution, and Mr. Madison *retused* the bill. Does the Whig think this was an exercise of "monarchical" power? The next instance under Mr. Madison's administration, was his veto upon the celebrated Bonus bill, the very last great act of his political life, on the very last day of his administration, March 3d, 1817. Was this wrong, and an exercise of "monarchical" power? Mr. Monroe approved the power, and gave a pledge to veto an Internal Improvement bill, but did not redeem it though. Would it not have been better, had he done so?

General Jackson used the Veto in several instances, two of them very remarkable cases, and much to his credit, and the satisfaction of the country—the one, arresting the re-establishment of the National Bank; and the other, arresting in his Maysville Veto, the immense, extravagant and alarming system of Internal Improvement. In fact, our history shows, that in every instance where the veto has been resorted to, it has been to arrest improvident and unconstitutional legislation.

Mr. Van Buren has given a pledge to use the Veto in several cases, if it should become necessary—and we understand from all his most solemn declarations, that he will veto a National Bank bill, and an Anti-Slavery bill—and the country has been comparatively quiet on the subjects to which it is understood to have reference. Thus again giving evidence of its power for good, even in advance of its application.—Can any thing be very bad, that has operated so well? The great struggle now going on in the country is destined to have a wonderful influence on the problem involved in the Presidential veto. One of the candidates is pledged to a certain construction of the Constitution on several points—the other has given out, that he will assent to any bill Congress may pass. The struggle, then, is between the Veto and Anti-Veto party, or those who believe in the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers who created the Constitution, and those who do not.—Gen. Harrison says, and those who support him say,

that he is a Jeffersonian Republican. We will try them by that standard. It will be remembered, that the first bill for a Bank of the U. S. had its origin under the administration of Gen. Washington, and that such was the difficulty he experienced before signing the bill, that he called upon Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jefferson for their opinions. In the opinion delivered by Mr. Jefferson, will be found this decided language in favor of the Veto power:

"The negative of the President is the shield provided by the Constitution to protect, against the invasions of the Legislature, 1st. The rights of the Executive; 2d. The Judiciary; 3d. Of the States and State Legislatures. The present (speaking of the Bank) is the case of a right remaining exclusively with the States, and is, consequently, one of those intended by the Constitution to be placed under his protection."

As the Whig (and we suppose Gen. Harrison, too,) believes the "Veto" a feature of "monarchy," and Mr. Jefferson did not, can the Whig be a Jeffersonian Republican? In fact, the Veto power, so far as we are capable of judging, is eminently calculated, in our confederated system, to prevent consolidation, and protect the rights of the States. What would have been our condition at this time, but for the Presidential interposition? All power, long ago, would have been swallowed up in the Federal Government, and the States would scarcely have had a name. At all events, whatever we may think of the expediency of giving this power at first, is this the time, when it will be certainly wielded for our benefit, and the salvation of the Union, for any man, who calls himself a statesman, to rail against it, and try to strike it down?—The Whig a statesman! No, no; he is a mere miserable, factious partizan, who has no great views of the public good, but who trims his sails to suit the purposes of a desperate and reckless party. There are signs, however, in this very article of the Whig, to show, that if Gen. Harrison should, unfortunately, come into power, and should not veto an Abolition bill of any description, the Whig would be the first to stand by him—the first cry out, "Hail, Harrison, it is all right. The power is monarchical.—It ought to be struck out, and you have done right in not exercising it."

The Letter of Gen. Harrison to the Whigs of New York has appeared since the preceding remarks were written. It is a production that places him lower as a Statesman, or as a man of talents. He attacks the Veto power, and refuses to give any pledges, that he would veto even the Abolition bill, as Mr. Van Buren has pledged himself.

HARRISON'S IMBECILITY.

For Proofs—See correspondence of Committee who have him in charge.

See course on Missouri Question; and interference with the internal affairs of the Government of Colombia, in his letter to Bolivar.

See Abolition letter and Vincennes speech.

See his Anti-Bank and Bank principles.

See his Tariff and Anti-Tariff principles.

See his Improvement and Anti-Improvement principles.

See his childish and disgusting conduct in the streets of Cincinnati, because Buchanan in a public speech commented on his official sanction of a law of Indiana, whilst a Territory, providing for the sale and whipping of free white citizens; also, a similar law supported by him as Senator in the Ohio Legislature.

See his Vincennes speech, in which he declares Congress has no power to interfere with slavery, and in the same breath says that it is "an object near his heart" to see Congress interfere, with the consent of a State, by applying the surplus revenue towards "emancipation."

See his admission and denial that he was a Federalist.

See Cheviot speech for approval of Proclamation, and which his friends say he has recanted.

See letter to Lyons; speeches at Columbus and Fort Meigs.

And above all, last and not least, see his weak, wishy-washy Letter to the Whigs of N. York, which they had the egregious folly to usher forth on the 4th July!

"MUMS" THE WORD.

The June number of Burton's Gentleman's Magazine, contains a Palindrome, beginning with this couplet:

"First, find out a word that doth silence proclaim,

And that, backwards and forwards, is always the same."

The answer starts with,

"Mum, is the voice, that doth silence proclaim;

Backwards and forwards it's always the same."

We recommend the Palindrome and its response to the disciples of Gen. Mum of North Bend, not only as appropriate amusement in itself, but as affording capital illustrations of words and things.—A. Argus.

A LITTLE PIECE OF MALICE.

Mr. Rives in Greene.—Mr. Rives addressed the people of Greene county on the 11th inst. We learn, from the Charlottesville Advocate, that 'Extra Billy' was present, swaggering as is his wont, and threatening utter annihilation to Mr. Rives.—Lynchburg Virginian.

'Extra Billy' was invited to address the people of Greene, as well as Mr. Rives; and if he had not been, it was his privilege and duty to have been there, being the senator from that district. Well may the Harrisonians avoid free and open discussion. They don't like to be reminded that their chief has two sets of principles—one for the north, and another for the south.

WAGES OF LABOR.

The Bank Aristocracy tell the people they would be much worse off, if they had not the Bank to support as well as themselves—This is an old trick of the privileged class. Menenius Agrippa, in behalf of the Patricians, told the Roman people, when they had retired to Mount Sacer, that they could not possibly get along without their task-masters, the nobility. All impartial historians now agree in the opinion, that the people of Rome bore too long the misrule and tyranny of the Patrician Order. Future historians will say that we bore too long, and patiently, the abuses of the Banks; and that the Independent Treasury, in lessening the amount of Bank paper, and the number of Bankers, increased the number of laborers, and consequently ameliorated their condition. RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

BANK OF VIRGINIA.

The Stockholders convened on the 1st inst., according to a call from the President and Directors. The President presented an address to the meeting, and submitted a system of by-laws prepared by order of a former meeting. Both the address and the by laws were referred to committees. The latter were adopted with a few amendments. A report was made on the President's address, containing the state of the affairs of the Institution, and concluding with a resolution recommending that all the officers of the mother Bank (except the President and Directors) should resign, which was substituted by a resolution, that the President be requested to resign. This was negatived—ayes 436, noes 2,480. The resolution recommending the resignation of the other officers was then adopted—ayes 2,325, noes 479, and is in the following words:

"Resolved, That, under the present circumstances of the Bank, the several officers of the mother Bank be requested to resign their offices to the President and Directors, who are authorized to accept the same at such times as may be consistent with the interests of the Bank, and to proceed to re-appoint the same officers, or other persons in their places, as in them may seem expedient under the system of by-laws this day adopted by the Stockholders."

The Stockholders adjourned on Thursday night. (All the Officers indicated in the resolution have resigned, with the exception of the Cashier, and the Board is proceeding to reorganize the Institution.)

The celebration at Shuter Hill, near Alexandria, was a magnificent affair. The company amounted to some thousands of persons—1000 of whom were ladies. The company was addressed by our Senator, W. H. Roane, Esq., in a happy and forcible style. Many others also spoke upon the occasion. Let our friends keep up this spirit, and diffuse light and information among the people, instead of cabins, cider, coonskins, bald-eagles, flags, banners, and badges; and Federalism, with all its disgusting and insulting paraphernalia, will be utterly prostrated and kicked out of the land. Arouse! freemen of Virginia! Arouse! and teach these Whigs that are capable of appreciating the high compliment they would seem to pay you.

57 A letter states, that the meeting was also addressed by Messrs. Holliman, Brown, Duncan, &c. Another says, 2,500 sat down to dinner.—There were ten Speeches, (all good)—excellent order, and great harmony.

A letter from Washington (6th July) says: "The advices from Western Virginia are of the most cheering character."—The last Lynchburg Republican gives the most animating accounts from the country. In Montgomery and other counties in that Senatorial District, a decided re-action has already taken place. "A considerable number of those who supported Mr. Preston in April, will vote for Mr. Van Buren in November. Mr. Hopkins's Congressional District is ours by an overwhelming majority—2,000 at least," &c., &c.

Our accounts from the West, via Washington, are truly and heartily cheering. It is stated in Washington, on the authority of one of the most intelligent and respectable gentlemen in Indiana, that the State is safe for Van by at least 5,000 votes—that changes are daily taking place in favor of the Administration. "The Whigs, to break the force of these continued desertions from their party, cry out lustily, 'Changes in favor of the Old Hero!'"—"Make way for a Republican!" and so on—but it is all forgery. When called on, they cannot point to a single individual who has changed.

Congress.—A joint resolution has been adopted by both Houses for adjourning their session on the 21st.—The principal subject under discussion, is a bill for extending the Charters of the Banks of the District.

We congratulate the Republicans of Albemarle and the whole neighboring country. They are now to have an organ of their own. They have purchased the office of the Charlottesville "Republican," in order to go immediately to work—and will turn Mr. Rives's battery against himself. The new paper will be conducted by a young gentleman of talents, energy, and Republican principles—and arrangements are making to bring it out forthwith. The county of Jefferson is about to be wrested from the hands of the Goths—apostates to his principles, or originally alien to his creed.

Electoral Conventions.—The Convention of the Caroline District meets at Croston's Springs in Essex on the 23d instant. It is expected to be a large and enthusiastic gathering.

The Democratic Association of this City and their Republican Brethren have appointed 33 Delegates to attend the Convention for this District, at Taylorsville or the Junction House. The 1st Monday of August was fixed on as the day of meeting; but as that day is the Albemarle Court, it is possible that a later day in the week may be designated—of which, due notice will be given in the next Crisis. The Committees in the counties are earnestly invited to co-operate; to have Delegates appointed, and a full meeting of all the Republicans in the District or elsewhere obtained. The Electors of the District, and Orators disposed to address the meeting, are invited.

The Republicans of the Frederick District are to hold a great gathering and a dinner on the 24th.